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even where the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. has no direct economic power it is the decisive political force, above all, in border areas like the Maritime Territory of the Soviet Far East.

There are indications, however, that the police ministry has encountered certain difficulties among the Far Eastern Russians during the war and post-war period. Conditions were certainly favourable to a re-emergence of that Far Eastern regionalism which Soviet power has tried so hard to eliminate. The people of Vladivostok, in particular, must have felt once more that the natural destiny of their city was that of a window into the world. They saw the many American lend-lease shipments arriving in their harbour and were bound to draw certain conclusions about the desirability of international trade and Soviet-American co-operation. More than people in other parts of the Soviet Union must the Russian inhabitants of the Pacific coastal areas have resented the policy of rigid isolationism which the Soviet Government has pursued particularly since 1947.

This frame of mind of the 'Far Easterners' makes it understandable that the very existence of an American consulate in Vladivostok was a matter of concern to the Soviet Government. The building of the consulate was put under constant supervision and for long periods it was floodlit at night. In 1948, the Soviet Government used a flimsy pretext to demand from the United States that they should withdraw their consular personnel from the Pacific port. The measure had little importance for the Americans as the activities of the four American consular officials were extremely limited, but it had a certain symbolic significance. The closing down of the consulate was a way of telling the people of Vladivostok that their hopes of their city becoming a link between Russia and the West were once more doomed. Some years later the charge was made that the consulate had been the centre of a spy-ring. This accusation was first put forward in the short story *In a Seaside Town* ('V Primorskom Gorode') which the popular Soviet illustrated *Ogonyok* published in 1950. In the daily press the 'plot' was mentioned for the first time on February 8th, 1953, when *Izvestiya* wrote : 'In 1947, the organs of the state security service liquidated a spy-nest organized by the assistant naval attaché at the American consulate general of Vladivostok, Richard'. *Izvestiya* produced no further details nor any evidence to support its disclosure which it simply quoted from a book *The Secret Weapon of the Doomed*. This latter work had come out under the auspices of the Komsomol organization. The absurdity of the Vladivostok spy story does not preclude the possibility that many Russian Far Easterners in the late 'forties' and early 'fifties' were persecuted for pro-Western sentiments just as others had been victimized for alleged pro-Japanese leanings in the late 'thirties.'

The particular sensitiveness which the Soviet authorities have shown

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III

THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

101 There are about 60,000 aborigines in the Soviet Far East (excluding Yakutia and Buryat-Mongolia) belonging to over a dozen different nationalities. The ethnographers divide them into two main groups. The first group, the Paleoasiats, includes the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Asiatic Eskimos, the Aleuts, Ainu, Nivkhi and Kamchadals. Of the second, the Manchu-Tunguz peoples, the most important are the Tunguz proper, or Evenki, the coastal Tunguz, or Eveni, the Nanai and the Udege. Politically and sociologically all these nationalities
563 must be considered as one single entity. The Soviet régime has treated them quite differently from the Korean, Chinese and Japanese minorities. As the small groups of aborigines are unable to handicap Russian colonization, the Communist Party has patronised them, and Soviet propaganda has always devoted a great deal of publicity to them, even at a time when there was complete silence about the Koreans and Chinese of the Soviet Far East. This does not necessarily mean that Soviet Russia has handled the problems of the Far Eastern aborigines successfully.

TWO VIEWS ON NATIVE POLICY

563 In the first years following the October Revolution the most authoritative
● 177 Russian anthropologists felt that the time had come to take special
656 measures to protect the Far Eastern and Far Northern natives from the pernicious influences of European civilization. Demands to that effect were voiced, in the winter of 1921–22, in the organ of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities, *Zhizn Natsionalnostei*. The most remarkable contribution to the problem of the small nationalities came from Professor Vladimir Germanovich Bogoraz-Tan (1865–1936), who had a profound knowledge of the problems of the tribes of North-Eastern Siberia, particularly of the Chukchi. Professor Bogoraz suggested that the Soviet Government should draw the lessons from certain experiments carried out in the native territories of Canada, the United States, Brazil and Argentina. It seemed vital to him that the mode of

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563 life and the living conditions of the primitive tribes should be protected
●177 against every influence on the part of their more civilized Russian neigh-
656 bours, or even of other stronger non-Russian peoples. Russians, Bogoraz said, should not be allowed to make any use whatever of the territories inhabited by the 'primitive tribes'. They should not even be permitted to enter them. Exceptions were to be made only for three categories of people, first anthropologists and linguists, secondly certain persons who would render practical services to the territories, such as doctors and technicians, and thirdly the ideologists of the new régime. Professor Bogoraz warned against making any economic experiments with the natives. He said that such experiments would not enhance the welfare of the Far Northern and Far Eastern tribes, but would, in fact, undermine their existence.[1]

To carry out a systematic policy of protection of the natives Professor Bogoraz demanded the foundation of a special committee to be attached to the People's Commissariat of Nationalities. Such a committee was in fact founded with the prominent participation of Professor Bogoraz himself. It was the 'Committee of the North'. It had a huge bureaucratic apparatus consisting of five departments. The first dealt with administrative and legal matters, the second with economic and financial affairs, the third was concerned with scientific research, the fourth with health and the fifth with education. The Committee of the North had a Far Eastern Bureau in Khabarovsk which dealt with the small Far Eastern nationalities.

From the very beginning two tendencies made themselves felt within the Committee. People like Bogoraz-Tan viewed its work primarily from a philanthropic point of view. They thought that the Committee was nothing more than an organization to assist the Far Northern and Far Eastern peoples to recover from the blows which contact with European civilization had inflicted on them. Die-hard Bolsheviks, on the other hand, had a different approach. They considered the Committee to be an instrument of economic exploitation of the Far Northern territories, and for fostering class struggle among the tribes.

563 Their view did not prevail at once. In the first five years of its existence,
635 between 1924 and 1929, the Committee did not interfere much with the tribal system of the Far North and Far East. The administrative pattern enforced in other parts of the Soviet Union was not extended to the small native peoples. Those living in the Far East were given such forms of local administration as were acceptable and comprehensible to them. Each tribe had a Tribal General Assembly ('Obshchee Rodovoe Sobranie') which elected a Tribal Executive Committee ('Rodovoy Ispolnitelny Komitet'). Several related tribes sent delegates to a Tribal District Congress ('Rayonny Rodovoy Sezd') which elected a Tribal District Executive Committee ('Rayonny Rodovoy Ispolnitelny

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Komitet'). The Tribal Committees of the lower order were later described as 'Native Soviets' ('Tuzsovety') of which there were 400 all over the Far East and Far North. The most remarkable fact about this tribal administration was that participation in tribal and native Soviets was not limited by class criteria.

This idyllic state of affairs could not last long. From one plenary meeting of the Committee of the North to the next the intransigence of its more radically minded members increased. In 1929 the Committee firmly decided to apply the principles of class struggle to the Far North, and from 1930 onwards, the tribal administration was abandoned. Regular organs of local government ranging from village Soviets to 'National Areas' ('Okrugs') were created instead. This meant in fact the end of the 'native reserves' which the Russian anthropologists had advocated in the early years of the Soviet régime. Under the new set-up Russian and other European Party and State officials were able to increase their influence in the running of native affairs. The natives were linked politically and administratively as closely as possible with the metropolitan territories of the U.S.S.R. In 1935, the Committee of the North itself was disbanded.

By the time of its abolition the Committee had lost a great deal of its previous importance. Many of its original duties had been taken over either by the Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route, 'Glavsevmorput', or by local government organs. The Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route, which had at its disposal a large staff of experts on nationalities problems, was originally launched as a body with extremely wide powers. Among other things, it was supposed to look after the well-being of the Far Northern tribes, direct cultural work among them, organize health services and help to promote their 'sovietization'. In the autumn of 1938 the Soviet Government decided that 'Glavsevmorput' could not carry out these tasks properly. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars stipulated that it was to hand over to the territorial administrations all enterprises and institutions which were not directly connected with the development of the Northern Sea Route.[2]

COMMUNIST ADMINISTRATORS

The abolition of the Committee of the North in 1935, and the curtailing of the powers of the 'Glavsevmorput' in 1938, increased the responsibilities of the administrative authorities and party organizations of Khabarovsk. It cannot be said that the latter have shown great enthusiasm for work in the National Areas and National Districts of the small nationalities. In fact, up to 1939 most of the officials posted to distant parts of the Far Eastern (later Khabarovsk) Territory went

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indeed, 'The further away we send a man, the more we must be able to trust him'.[4] It can be taken for granted that a man whom the Communist Party considers particularly trustworthy will be a hard-working official, and that he will not commit any crimes such as those of which Semenchuk and Startsev had been convicted. But a trustworthy communist is not necessarily a man who understands the mentality of the Far Eastern aborigines, and who deals with their problems in the best way.

NATIVES, STATE TRUSTS AND FORCED LABOUR

In addition to the Party and the territorial administration, there is a third influential factor in the Far East which has a great impact on the 'natives', namely the big State capitalist organizations of Kamchatka, Chukotka and the territories around the Okhotsk Sea. Instead of assisting and strengthening native economy the Soviet régime encouraged the growth of State companies such as the 'Kamchatka Limited Company' (later known as 'Glavkamchatrybprom' – Kamchatka Chief Administration for the Fishing Industry), the 'State Reindeer Trust', the 'Dalrybtrest' (Far Eastern Fishing Trust) and 'Soyuzpushnina', the State organization for fur trading. Soviet experts on the Far East themselves have admitted that these enterprises employed people who were guided by a 'narrow-minded business attitude' and who discharged their duties in a 'crudely materialistic way'. All they wanted was to fulfil the target figures of the state plan. They were not interested in assisting the natives either by supplying the most essential food commodities or by encouraging cultural work. The enterprises concerned, in particular the Kamchatka Company and the Reindeer Trust, seized land, and hunting and fishing grounds traditionally belonging to the natives. Even land owned by newly established collective farms of reindeer-breeders was arbitrarily confiscated by State trusts.[5]

Another State enterprise, the previously mentioned 'Dalstroy', which operates around the Okhotsk Sea, has also greatly affected the life of the 'natives' who live in its territory. The first director of Dalstroy, E. Berzin, pointed out in 1936 that the trust had opened schools and hospitals in all centres of the native population. The budget of the native communities ('National Districts') had increased almost ten times during five years.[6] What Berzin did not say was that the native schools and hospitals had been built with the profits which Dalstroy had made by exploiting forced labour. As a matter of fact, some of the schools of which Berzin boasted are 'mixed schools', which are attended both by natives and by children of convicts who were born in captivity and taken away from their mothers.[7] In the area controlled by the Dalstroy we thus meet the most sinister aspect of the 'Soviet nationalities policy', namely, its

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connection with the forced labour system. A sparsely populated territory on the Kolyma River and around the Okhotsk Sea, which, not so long before, had been the home only of Eveni, Yakuts and other natives, had suddenly become an object of mass colonization by convicts, probably by as many as 400,000. The sudden emergence of huge forced labour camps in tribal territories was bound to have a considerable effect both on the way of life and on the moral outlook of the natives. It is only logical that the N.K.V.D.-M.V.D. should have tried to enlist the support of the natives against camp inmates trying to escape. Former political prisoners have even asserted that the N.K.V.D. pays the natives, either in cash or in the form of vodka, for every escaped person whom they capture.[8] This makes it understandable that the prisoners extend their contempt of the N.K.V.D. to the natives. They charge the authorities with 'coddling and pampering' them in the very areas in which many members of Russia's intelligentsia are gradually being exterminated.[9] It must be said in fairness that the N.K.V.D. is not the first Russian authority to discover that use can be made of Far Eastern natives against convicts from European Russia. The priority for this idea goes to the Czarist governor of Sakhalin Island, General Konotovich. Chekhov, mentioned in his book on Sakhalin that the General had ordered Gilyaks (Nivkhi) to be employed as guards for Russian criminals.

THE REINDEER PROBLEM

Lack of understanding of the 'natives' is manifested not only by the activities of the big State trusts, but also in the day-to-day work of Soviet officials in charge of 'native affairs'. Communist Party officials think in terms of ready-made patterns, and cut-and-dried formulae. They are usually convinced that what is good for Moscow and Vladivostok must be equally good for the most remote parts of the Union. This frame of mind makes it difficult for them to find the right approach to the special conditions of the Far North. Much could be said, for instance, about the peculiar way in which Soviet authorities have handled the basis of Far Northern economy, reindeer-breeding. As late as 1950, the Communist Party of a Siberian province sent large piles of pamphlets on sheep-farming and bee-keeping to the nomads living near the Arctic coast, where there are neither sheep nor bees – only reindeer.[10] This actually happened in North-western Siberia, but it could easily have happened in the Far East. The *Pravda* correspondent in Khabarovsk stated in 1947 that there was not a single specialist in problems of reindeer-breeding in the State and Party offices of that city, although the Khabarovsk Territory includes the largest reindeer population of any administrative unit in the Soviet Union.[11]

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233 474 gives an optimistic picture of the Russian reindeer situation states that a new period of decline set in during the war owing to the increased slaughter for the army and inferior care of the herds resulting from the mobilization of many native herdsmen.[14] After the war the position improved but whether and when the peak figure of 1931 was reached again, is impossible to say. Such increases in the number of reindeer as there were, were brought about, it seems, by a more liberal application of the collective farm statute. Collective farm members were encouraged to own small reindeer herds privately. The maximum size of these privately owned herds is not known but cases have been mentioned of individual collective farmers having as many as 80, 90, 130, and even up to 200 reindeer each.[15]

233 874 The reindeer problem has caused difficulties to Soviet administrators not only in the purely economic sphere but also in the field of education. What is needed in the Far North is a school which would help to raise hunting and reindeer breeding to a higher level. The more enlightened Russian pedagogues are the first to admit that such a school does not exist. One of the school inspectors posted to Northern Siberia quoted, not without a certain measure of approval, a reindeer breeder who refused for a long time to entrust his two sons to a Soviet boarding school. The father in question said that he taught his children to hunt game, to catch the polar fox and to ride reindeer. In school, he added, they would not learn all this, and when they had finished they would have no practical knowledge. An article in the *Teachers' Gazette* stated that there was a 'grain of truth' in the complaint of the old reindeer breeder. 'The school is indeed too much cut off from practice and thus not able to prepare children for the life in the Far North.'[16] A similar problem, it is true, also exists in other countries. Richard Finnie, in his book *Canada moves North*, says that Eskimo children, after spending years in boarding schools, return to their families unfitted for the lives they must lead.[17]

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

212 871 ● 171 Whatever the quality of school education in the Russian Far North may be, it is a fact that the Soviet authorities have carried out a big cultural revolution in the native territories. The most important part of it has been the liquidation of illiteracy. Until 1931 the Far Northern and Far Eastern peoples could express themselves in writing only in the form of drawings or through the medium of the Russian language. In May, 1931, they received an alphabet of their own, the 'Unified Northern Alphabet' as it was called. It was officially approved by the Ministry of Education of the R.S.F.S.R. The 'Unified Northern Alphabet' was a Latin alphabet and the decision to adopt it was not taken without a long struggle fought out behind the scenes between the supporters of latiniza-

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the Far Eastern aborigines are sent to the Pedagogical Institute of Khabarovsk, where there is a department for the Far Northern nationalities, and a few are even admitted to the Herzen Pedagogical Institute in Leningrad. Courses at the Far Northern Department of that Institute last three years, and the curriculum includes 'Foundations of Marxism-Leninism; the great works of Stalin on questions of linguistics; the history of Russian pre-revolutionary and Soviet literature; folklore, and many other subjects'.[21] In addition every student has lessons in methods of teaching, in the grammar of his own national language, and in the history and ethnography of the peoples of the North.

Native students are also instilled with a feeling of hatred against the non-communist world. The results of this indoctrination can be gauged from the answers which a Yakut student gave, according to *Pravda*, at his final examinations at the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute. 'The Yakut student, E. Sysosyatin, talked at the examination of the situation of the Eskimos, Aleutians and Red Indians in America. He mentioned many facts which unmasked the American imperialists, and their criminal policy directed towards the total extermination of these peoples. To the horrors of misery, starvation, inhumane privations and persecutions to which these nationalities are subject in America, even greater atrocities have been added during the past few years. As has become known, the American imperialists, preparing bacteriological warfare, tried out the effects of the deadly microbes on the Eskimos. As a result of these cannibalistic experiments many Eskimos in America died of bubonic plague.'[22]

Soviet dictatorship indoctrinates all citizens of the U.S.S.R., whether Russians or Uzbeks, Ukrainians or Georgians, Latvians or Chukchi. It gives to all of them a completely distorted picture of the nations outside the communist sphere. This campaign of hatred and distortions, while morally wrong in every single case, is particularly contemptible if directed towards the youth of primitive peoples. By trying to transform young native intellectuals into agitators of the 'cold war', the Soviet régime destroys to a considerable extent the good which it is doing by the spread of culture and knowledge.

COMMUNISTS AND SHAMANS

The young natives trained in Nikolayevsk-on-Amur, Khabarovsk and Leningrad are to help the Russian administrators in the fight against 'local nationalism' in all tribal areas of the Soviet Far East. Naturally, in the territories of the small Far Eastern peoples the Soviet régime does not fight 'local nationalism' in the same way as it does in areas where there are more developed nationalities. There are no parties or political groups which the communists have to suppress; there is no feudal-

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patriarchal literature which has to be banned, and no cultural societies which have to be closed down because of bourgeois romanticism. Even so the small peoples of the Far East adhere, just as other peoples do, to their national traditions which are closely linked with those primitive religious beliefs usually summed up under the collective name of 'Shamanism'.

Shamanism is fundamentally the belief in good and bad spirits. The exact nature of the belief varies from one tribe to the other. The spirits may be deified animals, they may be ancestors, or they may simply be the forces of nature. Shamanism is not based on an elaborate ecclesiastical organization, but there are, nevertheless, mediators between spirits and ordinary human beings. These mediators are called Shamans. They enjoy a great deal of respect and prestige in the tribal society and this alone would have been sufficient reason to make them 'Enemy Number One' of the Soviet régime in all National Districts and National Areas inhabited by the Far Eastern aborigines.

The régime has charged the Shamans with many crimes, in particular with being dishonest and with consciously deceiving the people. This accusation has been contradicted by many Russian and foreign anthropologists who have had first hand experience of the Far Eastern Shamans. They have made the point that most Shamans sincerely believe in their superior power and are firmly convinced of their ability to cure the sick and to talk to spirits or to deceased relatives. It does not seem that Shamans charged more than moderate fees for their services if they demanded payment at all.[23] According to P. E. Petri, Professor of Ethnology at the Irkutsk University, it was completely erroneous to suggest that the majority of the Shamans were charlatans exploiting the credulity of the natives. For the Shaman, Petri wrote as late as 1928, his vocation constituted a heavy obligation which the spirits had imposed on him. The Shaman knew respite neither by day nor by night. He might at any time be called out and had then to travel dozens of miles in any weather. The Shaman was rarely at home and his household was therefore neglected. As a rule the Shamans were poor and only those living together with their brothers were better off.[24]

According to official Soviet evidence the Shamans engaged in 'mad resistance' to the extension of Soviet power to the north. They disseminated 'provocative rumours' aimed at inciting the tribesmen against the Russians. These charges against the Shamans are reflected in a number of novels which Soviet writers have written on life in the Far East. For example, Syomushkin's novel, *Alitet goes to the Hills*, records the collective resignation of the chairmen of the tribal Soviets in a part of Chukotka, as the result of the evil influences of one important Shaman. These chairmen gathered one day in the tent of the Russian secretary of the Communist Party and surrendered to him their letters of appoint-

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FAR EASTERN ABORIGINES AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

Destiny has placed the Far Eastern natives into politically and strategically important regions, the mouth of the Amur, the Russian islands of the North-west Pacific, and the territory bordering the Behring Strait. Consequently, the nationalities concerned can only too easily be dragged into the struggle of the big powers for the Pacific. In fact, they have already played their modest part in world politics, and may do so in future. The Nanai, Udege and Nivkhi have participated in Russian-Chinese rivalries. The Udege, Nanai and Ainu have stood between the lines in Russian-Japanese conflicts. The Chukchi, Aleuts and Asiatic Eskimos are involved in the American-Russian antagonism.

The Soviet régime has always been aware of the special position of the small Far Eastern nationalities, and has framed its propaganda accordingly. It has presented itself to the peoples concerned as their saviour rescuing them from 'Chinese merchant capitalism' or from 'Japanese militarism' or from 'American robbery'. The aim of Soviet 'native policy' in the Far East is thus to make the local nationalities anti-Chinese, anti-Japanese or anti-American, as the case may be, and to instil in them a feeling of gratitude towards Russia and the Russians.

Not everything which Russian propagandists tell the natives about other nations is necessarily untrue. It is a fact that Chinese merchants were, for a long time, almost sovereign rulers in the interior of the Russian Pacific province, and exerted a tyrannical overlordship over the aborigines. In some cases the aborigines were reduced to outright serfdom. But even Russian sources have had to admit that the Chinese were interested not merely in profits, but also in spreading their culture. In the absence of any major Russian cultural activities the Chinese ran schools for the aborigines. The latter studied Chinese history, and grew familiar with Chinese institutions. Russia and things Russian were either ignored altogether, or represented in a distorted light.[36] Some of the aborigines completely abandoned their mother tongue, and adopted the Chinese language. The Soviet régime brought about a complete change. It ended the economic exploitation of the natives by Chinese merchants and stopped Chinese cultural propaganda. Cultural domination passed into the hands of the Russians. From a Russian nationalist point of view this was undoubtedly a great success, but whether it is preferable for a Far Eastern people to accept Russian or Chinese civilization is a matter of opinion.

THE NANAI

The most important nationality which the Soviet régime has claimed to have rescued from the Chinese are the Nanai. They are the largest single

101 The Buryat occupy the region west and east of Lake Baykal.
563 Their entire number in 1939 was around 280,000. They are divided into the Irkutsk and the Transbaykal Buryat. The former, numbering approximately 100,000, live in the Irkutsk region and enjoy cultural autonomy in the Ust'-Orda Krai. The Transbaykal Buryat are united in the Buryat-Mongol ASSR. Nevertheless, they constitute only 43.8 percent of the population of this ASSR (1941), and the Russians are in the majority. Buryat live in large numbers also in the Chita region, especially in the Aginsk /Aga/ Steppe south of Chita, where they have their own administration in a national district. The Buryat are regarded as a branch of the Mongols and are contrasted with the Khalkha
563 Mongols in Outer Mongolia. As history shows, a part of this people early became sedentary, especially west of Lake Baykal. In the steppes of Transbaykal, however, the major part of the people remained typical Mongolian nomads until the very recent past. Gmelin, who traveled the land in the eighteenth century, reports that numerous Buryat had herds of thousands of sheep and hundreds of reindeer and horses. Georgi, who spent time in Transbaykal in the same century, writes that individual Daur Buryat own up to 1,000 camel, 4,000 horses, 2,000 to 3,000 reindeer, 8,000 sheep, and hundreds of goats. Even if these numbers may be exaggerated, they show nevertheless that animal breeding was the basis of the economic life of the Buryat. After the invasion of the Russians they were able to adjust in advantageous fashion to the changed situation, and a large part of the people went over to agriculture. There remained for them simply no other way, since the Russian settlers took the best pasture lands from them and transformed them into tilled land. Pressed into unfavorable areas, they proceeded with remarkable energy and without European guidance to create their own tilled land through artificial irrigation, especially in the river region of the Selenga and in the Barguzin Valley. However, in the southern steppes of Transbaykal they have /105/ retained their original occupation, cattle raising, in which they have made extraordinary accomplishments. The Buryat Republic belongs today
563 to the most important cattle surplus areas in the Soviet Union. Many
177 interesting features of their own folk life have been lost through the introduction of kolkhoz economy and modern cattle-raising methods. Thus the felt yurts occupied of old have simply disappeared and have been replaced by small, practical wooden houses. However, there are still regions in Transbaykal where the Buryat continue their nomadic life unhindered, even though everywhere the influence of Russiandom grows stronger and stronger. At most the Irkutsk Buryat and the

Lamut, Goldi

Transbaykal Buryat, who have gone over to agriculture and are living among the Russians, are under this influence. Nevertheless their intelligence and their self-consciousness, qualities which have always been praised in them, create for them again and again a position of their own, and expression is given to this in the autonomous soviet republic and in the two national districts.

The Tungus or Evenki, as they are now named in Soviet literature, are to be encountered in all of east Siberia. Their entire number is estimated at 75,000. Of these the real Tungus, with about 30,000 people, live in an extended national district /okrug?/ west of the Yakut ASSR on the right side of the Yenisey. The main part of the remaining Tungus, who are divided into numerous small and very small splinter peoples, live in the far eastern area. To them belong the Lamut, Goldi, Olcha, Orok, Orochi, Orochon, and other smaller tribes. The Lamut, whose name is taken from the Tungus word "lamu," "the sea," live widely scattered over the entire Okhotsk coast, the upper basin of the Anadyr', and are also represented on Kamchatka. Their entire number undoubtedly cannot exceed 3,000. Only a small part of them occupy themselves with reindeer breeding. Most of them are sendentary and have fixed settlements at river mouths on the sea, where they apply themselves to catching fish and in addition are also active as hunters and dog breeders. The Lamut can be designated as sea or coastal Tungus. Their ethnology has been studied very little. Much better known are the Goldi. They live in the region of the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri and are also scattered in the valley of the Ussuri and in Sikhote-Alin'. They are settled most thickly in the valley of the Amur below Khabarovsk. Among the Goldi the Mongolian racial marks are very strongly apparent: jaw and cheek bones stand out, the nose is broad and low, hair is black and straight. They used to make their clothing in part from fishskin, and it is for this reason that they were named "Yupi-tadsy," i.e., barbarians in fish clothing, by the Chinese. At present this national costume of the Goldi has been completely displaced by clothing of Russian or Chinese origin. The Goldi occupy themselves exclusively with fishing, hunting, dog breeding, and trapping. A supply of fish is dried in the air for winter and serves then as nourishment for man and dog. /106/ Usually the fish are cooked, but in the summer they also eat them raw. They regard as delicacies raw marrow and the liver of the isiubr stag. The wagon is unknown to the Goldi as a means of transportation. In summer they use a birch bark or board boat, and in the winter dog sleds.

563 177 101 563 [142] [291] [262] [493] [501]

Goldi, Olcha, Orochi

101 563 in the winter dog sleds. The position of the women is difficult. [342] Polygamy is permitted. Bride purchase remains today. The Goldi live in small settlements of two to twenty houses, which are built out of mud like Chinese fang-tze /Fansen/. Many of them are half sunk in the earth. In the summer, however, the Goldi gladly leaves his fixed house and moves into his original domed tent, which is covered with birchbark or bast mats. In more recent times many Goldi have taken up the cultivation of vegetables, and they also breed pigs and chickens. The Samaghir, who live on the Gorin, a left tributary of the lower Amur, can be named as relatives of the Goldi. Their culture corresponds to that of the Goldi, but many expressions in their language indicate that they formerly were reindeer breeders. At present they devote themselves exclusively to fishing and hunting. Further downstream live the Olcha, who have also spread to the coast of the Tatar Strait and to Sakhalin. On Sakhalin they call themselves the Orok. The Olcha are also hunters, fishermen, and dog breeders. However, in contrast to the semi-nomadic Goldi, they are sedentary, and they all pursue agriculture in slight measure. Various signs indicate that they also were once reindeer breeders as their relatives, the Orok on Sakhalin, still are today. The total number of Olcha and Orok can scarcely exceed 2,000. More numerous--around 2,500--are the Orochi, who are also often called Udekhe (after the river Udekhe). Split up into numerous small groups, they live in the valleys of the middle and southern Sikhote-Alin' and also on the side toward the sea and the Ussuri. Many of [179] them, especially in the south, are under Chinese influence and speak, reside, and live in a Chinese fashion. However, in the heart of Sikhote-Alin' they have remained rather pure and still live as true forest people, as Arseniev described them, and they show pronounced [141] Tungus traits. The men on the average are 1.60 meters tall, and the women 1.45 meters. Their small hands and feet are striking. [301] Like the Goldi they once wore ear and nose rings, and this custom still exists among the Orochi-Udekhe, although only among the [342] women. They still live in pointed tents in contrast to the domed tents of the Goldi, in which the tent poles are bent together to form a dome and which recall, in their form, the yurts of the Mongols. On long trips, however, the Orochi did not take his tent along, since the tent was too burdensome for him; instead, while he was on his way, he built a simple protective tent out of twigs. The pure Orochi is only a hunter and fisherman. The social order of this people is

Koryak, Kamchadal

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563 together in villages in crudely constructed wooden houses. The leather boats, which they still use for hunting and fishing, are disappearing more and more. The Reindeer Koryak have also already grown far from their original culture. They are primarily reindeer breeders and own large herds. They live nomadic life wandering between the valley regions protected from the wind in the winter and the gnat-free mountainous tundra in the summer. The square winter hut, which is built [342] from wood and is half sunk in the earth, is built in imitation of the Russian house. They recall the old pit dwelling of Europe. Only in the summer do they use their round, transportable tent, which in its original form consisted of a framework of poles covered with reindeer skins. Today, however, it is often only a type of board shanty, since their wanderings are mostly limited to short stretches. The winter huts as a rule lie on rivers and are permanent constructions. Older people often remain in the winter huts even in the summer, and accordingly [142] the Koryak must be designated as semi-nomadic. Physically the Koryak are medium to short in height with straight black hair, slight growth of hair on the face, and brown-bronze skin color. They make their [281] clothes out of reindeer, wolf and dog skins, and they make lighter clothing for the summer from seal skin. In this /110/ they show a color-happy feeling for art and decorate their clothing with strips of hide of different colors or with leather which they form into various ornaments.

The Kamchadal or Itelmen occupy the southern part of Kamchatka Peninsula, primarily the southern part of the western coast and the Kamchatka valley. Their number earlier must have been much greater, for old reports speak of tens of thousands. Today their number can • [177] scarcely be determined since a very large part of the people have been completely Russianized. Many have almost forgotten their own language. It is interesting that numerous Russians in the first wave of colonizers are completely absorbed in the Kamchadal and cannot be distinguished from them at all in mode of living and customs. In some villages on the western coast between Zedanka and Zepochnoye there are still pure Kamchadal, who number around 800 (1930). Often these people alone are designated as Itelmen and contrasted to the Kamchadal. They [342] have abandoned their original earth hut, which can still be encountered in the interior as a base for hunters, and they live in clumsy wooden houses of the Russian type. Fishing is their principal occupation. In the winter, however, they move into the mountains to hunt fur animals. Their houses stand unordered in loose groups on the rivers. When the

563 also engaged in smuggling gold. In 1900 it came to a catastrophe when the Russian authorities drove all Chinese over the border. At Blagoveshchensk nearly 5,000 perished who were chased with force into the Amur. The building of cities and industry, however, drew them again and again into the country as workers, and many of these remained in the country as settlers or also as frugal artisans. Culturally they have had a very strong influence on the natives, who, like the [177] Udekhe in southern Sikhote-Alin', have not only taken over the material life of the Chinese but have even given up their language in favor of that of the Chinese. Chinese clothing and the Chinese houses have asserted themselves as far as the Gilyak on the lower Amur and stand everywhere in competition with Russian influence, [342] which gradually has asserted itself. The Chinese house, the 'fanse,' has mud walls. Its gabled roof is covered with straw. Almost the entire front side is taken up by large windows, pasted over with oil-paper and covered with bars; these windows can be slid out and removed. On the sides and along the back wall there are no windows. [354] In the interior of the 'fanse' a small stove with an iron boiler lies on each side of the door. Smoke ducts lead from these two stoves under [352] the sleeping places which built from stone and mud, extend along the walls and fill nearly half the room. This type of plank bed, designated a "kang," is approximately 0.50 meters high. From these the smoke ducts then lead to the chimney, which is likewise made of stone and mud. Because of the danger of fire, the chimney always stands alone and somewhat away from the house. It is not uncommon for the 'kang' to have its own heating also. The farm buildings are [351] usually attached to the house at right angles, and the square courtyard thus formed is closed off behind by a wall or a fence. The Chinese also like to mark off a rectangular area in front of the house, or to surround their entire lodging with a wall which is often very thick; the natives, however, mostly are satisfied with the house alone, which is often only a wretched, dirty mud hut, whatever the layout.

[162] Of the 87,999 Chinese who lived in Siberia in 1939, approximately half live in the southern Ussuri region; the remainder are mostly scattered in the cities. The number of women among the Chinese is very slight and amounts to only 6 percent. In the southern Ussuri region, therefore, the number of Chinese-Udekhe half-breeds is large; they are generally designated "tas."

The Korean element in the population is entirely different. Some old villages in the Pos'yet area have existed since time im-

oblast is Palana, which lies on the river of the same name on the west coast. Almost half the Koryak are sedentary and live in wooden houses, built after the Russian model, in villages on the coast or on rivers, where they live from fishing and hunting. All breed the dog as a domestic animal. Already gardens, in which they grow potatoes and vegetables, are also very often to be found near their houses. The bulk of the Koryak, however, remain in /300/ reindeer breeding and are developing the same good qualities which the Chukchee possess in this respect. Apart from the Samoyed in the northern part of the European tundra, the Koryak and the Chukchee are the best reindeer breeders in the Soviet Union, and they also have more than a third of the total stock of reindeer in the USSR. The Kamchadal occupy the southern part of the west coast, the Kamchatka valley; and many of them are also to be found as workers in the fishing localities on the east coast. They are under the influence of the Russians in all things and have become completely sedentary. Fishing and hunting, however, have remained their principal occupations. But they have in many cases already given up the breeding of dogs and keep horses, which are more and more displacing the dog as the riding and draft animal in the southern part of Kamchatka. The cultivation of vegetables and potatoes has already become a rule with them. In the central, more remote part of Kamchatka, there still lives a smaller number of Tungus Lamut, who are only reindeer breeders. Hemmed in by the more progressive Koryak and Kamchadal, they constitute the poorest population on the peninsula. Their herds are only small ones, and during harsh winters they are to be encountered begging among the rich Reindeer Koryak.

The heavy immigration of Russians can be traced back to state guidance. In the years 1930 to 1933 alone 15,000 settlers came into the land. The capital Petropavlovsk had around 28,000 inhabitants in 1939, which was more than all Kamchatka had before 1914, and today Petropavlovsk's population is around 40,000. A great part of the increase in population can be traced back to the building up and the modernization of fishing and the catching of sea animals. Here there was formerly a shortage of workers, and this shortage forced them to bring thousands of seasonal workers every year to Kamchatka for the catching period. Among these seasonal workers there were many Koreans and Chinese. This shortage has been eliminated by immigration. Furthermore new industrial undertakings, especially complementary branches of the fish processing industry, have come

10: Laufer--368-370 E-3 (no date) 1917 Northeast Asia-2
116, 114, 177, 197, 756

The Turkish word kam is of ancient date(3)It is attested (and this is its earliest occur-

3. The Russians have derived from it the verb kamlat' (to shamanize, to conjure, to spell, to prophesy) and the noun kamlanie (the act of shamanizing).

rence) in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), where it said with respect to the Kirgiz(4) that they designate their sorcerers or shamans (Chinese wu) with the word

4. Regarding this name and its ancient Chinese transcriptions see Pelliot and Laufer, T'oung Pao, 1916, p. 295.

kam. The last character now reads kan, but was anciently possessed of a final labial nasal, which is still preserved in the dialects of southern China. Chinese wu is a very ancient term for the native medecine-men.(5) The word kam, further, is found in Uigur(6)

5. Regarding their activity see Chinese Clay Figures, pp. 109-200.

6. In the Kudatku Bilik, written in A. D. 1068 (H. Vámbéry, Uigurische Sprachmonumente, p. 221).

and in the Codex cumanicus of 1303. (7) It is also used by the Persian historian Rashid-

7. W. Radloff, Aus Sibirien, vol. II, p. 67. Nemeth overlooked these data but it is important to note the wide distribution of the word in time and space.

eddin (1247-1318) in 1302, with reference to the shamans of the Mongols.(8) The existence

8. F. Von Erdmann, Temudschin, p. 553, E. Blochet, Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Rashid Ed-Din, p. 165.

of the Tungusian word šaman can now be traced to the first part of the twelth century, for Pelliot(9) has found it as a Jučen word in a Chinese gloss, where it is transcribed in the

9. Journal Asiatique, 1913, mars-avril, pp. 466-469.

form šan-man and explained as a sorceress. The Chinese transliteration would presuppose Jučen form šamman. Indeed we still meet forms with double m in the dialect of the Wilui Tungus, --samman and xamman. (10) The latter with initial spirant represents the

10. Recorded by R. Maack, Wil'uski okrug (The District of Wilui), pt. 3, p. 116.

missing link between Turkish kam (in the language of the Soyot or Urangkhai xam) and the Tungusian forms with initial sibilant. The [370] alternation of k and x is well known, (1) likewise x, h, and s, alternate in Tungusian dialects. (2) For this reason

1. W. Radloff, Phonetik der nördlichen Türksprachen, p. 108.

2. A. Schiefner, Melanges asiatiques, vol VII, 1877, pp. 338-339.

it is justifiable to correlate the forms kam and xam with Yakut xammā, xamsā (to move, to be agitated; xām, to step, to stride), (3) and to interpret the significance of the word

3. O. Böhthingk, Jakutisches Wörterbuch, P. 79.

from the shaman's peculiar behavior, his solemn and pompous pacing, his ecstacy, his convulsions, his frantic leaps and dancing. (4)

4. This explanation was first given by V. F. Troščanski, Evolutsiya černoi v'äry (šamanstva) u Yakutov (Evolution of the Black Faith among the Yakut),

(Kazan, 1902), p. 117. D. Banzarov (Černaya v'ära, p. 35) held a similar view, but arrived at it through a different process by connecting the word with Manchu samarambi and Mongol samoromoi, samagu; aside from the fact, however, that these words do not have the meaning required, or forced into them by Banzarov, they can by no means be reduced to the stem sam. --Kam is not a Yakut word for the shaman, as wrongly stated by A. van Gennep ('De l'emploi du mot "chamanisme,"' Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. 47, 1903, p. 52, the Yakut term is oyun."